1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

V.— FESTIVALS AND SACRIFICES.

Festivals.

The cycle of festivals is different among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak, owing to the difference of their means of subsistence. A cult of the animals upon which their livelihood depends is developed among both groups; the Maritime Koryak worshipping sea-animals, while the Reindeer Koryak worship the reindeer herd. All the religious festivals of the Koryak centre around these animals.

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Festivals of the Maritime Koryak. — Following are the main festivals of the Maritime Koryak: the whale festival; the celebration at the putting-away of the boat for the winter; and that at its launching in the summer. To the religious customs of the Maritime Koryak belongs also that of wearing masks.

The Whale Festival. — The whale festival is considered the most important one. It is called Yañya-ena'čıxtitgın, which literally means "whale-service." Every killing of a whale is celebrated with a "whale-service;" but the main whale festival occurs in the fall, usually in October, after the capture of a whale. Since whales are very seldom obtained nowadays, the ceremony is celebrated in connection with the capture of a white whale.

In describing the fall festival of the Kamchadal, Krasheninnikoff calls it the festival "of expiation of sins." Judging from the description of the rites performed during this festival, it abounds in interesting details; but, unfortunately, their inner meaning remained unknown to Krasheninnikoff. In one passage[1] he states that the means of expiation of sins was confession. Women suffering from nervous fits confessed transgressions of various taboos committed by them, and were then comforted by one of the old men. Such a confession of transgressions of taboos constitutes the expiation from sins also among the Eskimo.[2]

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On the other hand, it may be seen from Krasheninnikoff's description, not only that this was a family festival, but that all inhabitants of a given village took part in it, even those not related to each other.[3] It signified

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 125.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 121.

[3] In the description it is not mentioned in whose house the celebration took place; but Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 606) interprets the description as meaning that there were special ceremonial houses among the Kamchad. . Krasheninnikoff tells (II, p. 135) how the women of the house in which the festival was celebrated (apparently the winter house) walked off to the balagans (that is, the summer huts raised on posts), and how each returned into the house with sacrificial grass and provisions. The grass and provisions were received by two men appointed for that purpose. The grass was hung upon the charms; and the provisions, especially dried fish, were chopped with a hatchet, and returned to the woman from whom they had been taken, only a small piece being thrown into the fire as a sacrifice. Each woman also put some sacrificial grass upon the hearth. Then they passed from one corner to the other, treating each other with dried fish, as a symbol of a future abundance of food-supply.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

that the summer and fall hunting seasons were over, and was intended to influence the deity so that the hunt of the following year would also prove successful, and that the winter would pass without sickness, or visitation of the kalau. This is Steller's interpretation of this festival, to which he devotes only a few lines. Krasheninnikoff also describes how a grass whale filled with blubber and other kinds of provisions is made. It was tied to the back of one of the women, and at a certain moment those who participated in the celebration threw themselves upon it, tore it up, and ate it, apparently in imitation of a successful hunt.

Parry[1] tells, that, among the Central Eskimo, the capture of a whale is celebrated by a great festival. According to his brief description, the whale is hauled inside of a stone enclosure about five feet high. Several men flense it, and throw the pieces of meat over the stone wall. The crowd which stands on the other side catch the flying pieces; while the women, who are inside, sing, forming a circle, in the centre of which are the whale and the men who carve it.

The killing of a whale was also celebrated by the Aleut with a feast, with beating of drums, dances, and masks. The dances had a mystic significance. Some of the men were dressed in their most showy attire; while others danced naked, wearing large wooden masks, which reached to their shoulders, and represented various sea-animals.[2]

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak have no festivals, and adds,[3] that the Maritime Koryak observe their festivals at the same time as the Kamchadal, but that they are as little capable of explaining the meaning of their ceremonies as the Kamchadal. Unfortunately Krasheninnikoff does not offer any, not even a superficial, description of the festivals of the Maritime Koryak, which would be interesting for the purpose of comparing the rites of a previous period with those observed by me.

The essential part of the whale festival is based on the conception that the whale killed has come on a visit to the village; that it is staying for some time, during which it is treated with great respect; that it then returns to the sea to repeat its visit the following year; that it will induce its relatives to come along, telling them of the hospitable reception that has been accorded to it. According to the Koryak ideas, the whales, like all other animals, constitute one tribe, or rather family, of related individuals, who live in villages, like the Koryak. They avenge the murder of one of their number, and are grateful for kindnesses that they may have received.

The whale festival is not a family festival, but a communal one. All the inhabitants of the village participate in it; but the owner of the skin boat by whose crew the whale has been killed, acts as the host, and takes charge of the festival. He invites his neighbors; and the celebration, which lasts a few days, takes place in his own house or in the largest one of the village.

[1] Parry, II, p. 362. [2] Dall, p. 139. [3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 217.

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If several boats participated in the capture of the whale, the master of the festival is the one who dealt the deadly blow with his harpoon.

The villages of the Maritime Koryak, especially their summer villages, are mostly situated on rocky shores rising to some height above the sea. From the roofs of the houses a wide view of the sea may be had. When the inhabitants of the village are out sealing, the women frequently go out and sit on the roof to await the return of the boats. When the women of a certain house discover their boats towing a whale, they put on their embroidered dancing-coats, trousers, and shoes, and masks of sedge-grass, take sacrificial alder-branches and fire-brands from the hearth, and go to

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Fig. 26, *a* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$), Doll representing Man in Dancing-Costume; *b* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$), Man's Dancing-Trousers.

the beach to meet the whale. (The Koryak custom of bringing out fire-brands from the hearth to meet the newly married daughter-in-law or son-in-law is regarded as a sign that they now belong to the family hearth. In ancient times welcome and honored guests were in the same way received with fire-brands from the hearth.) If there is an old man who staid at home in the house, he also puts on a dancing-costume, a grass collar, and a grass girdle, ties plaited grass all over his dress, and takes a whip-like wand of plaited sedge-grass, which he brandishes, apparently to chase away evil spirits. The women and the old man are joined by women from other houses, also attired

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in their festive coats; and all welcome the whale, dancing around the fire that is brought from the hearth, and is built up outside the house.

A man's embroidered dancing-coat is represented on Plate 1, Fig. 2 (opp. p. 48). Other parts of dancing-costumes are shown in Figs. 26 and 27. Fig. 26, *a* shows a doll made by the Koryak Ḷaḷu′ from the village of Kamenskoye, and represents an old man dressed in a dancing-costume, and tied around with sacrificial grass; while Fig. 28, a reproduction of a drawing by the old Koryak Yulta of the village Kamenskoye, represents a scene after the capture

Fig. 27, *a* ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{2}}$), Woman's Dancing-Coat; *b* ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{2}}$), Woman's Dancing-Boot.

of a whale. In the middle, the whale is lying on grass, one side carved. On the right side of the whale a dog is being sacrificed. Two men are holding it, — one by the head, the other by the hind part, — and a third is holding a spear, ready to stab it. On the ground, near this group, is a dog already slaughtered. Around this central group, men with knives in their hands, and women, are dancing, forming almost a complete circle. On the upper and lower parts of the illustration four places are shown at which grass is spread. Usually the straw-like stems of *Elymus mollis* are used for this purpose. Slices of whale-meat, represented by a number of vertical lines, are spread on the grass; and people are standing near them. At the sides of the figure the owners of the skin boat are seen spreading out the harpoon-lines which were used in the capture of the whale, and which must be dried.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

●-196 As I said before, the whale festival is at present celebrated in connection with white-whale hunting, for large whales are nowadays very rare in the bays of the Okhotsk Sea. I will describe here the celebration of a festival that I witnessed in the village of Kuel.

It was on the 11th of October, 1900. A white whale had been caught in the nets which the Koryak Qaivi'lok had set for catching seals. In some

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Fig. 28. Koryak Sketch illustrating a Scene after the Capture of a Whale.

places the ground was covered with snow. Blocks of ice had begun to accumulate on the beach, every retreating tide adding to the accumulation of slippery salt-water ice. Early in the morning several men started out on a sledge to fetch the white whale. When they were returning to the village, bringing the whale, a few women in dancing-costumes, but without masks,

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

●796 came out to welcome it with burning fire-brands. They put these down on the ground at the point where it began to slope toward the shore, together with a dish filled with berries of *Empetrum nigrum* and covered with sacrificial sedge-grass. As a strong wind was blowing, stones were put upon the grass to prevent its being blown away. The women danced, shaking their heads, moving their shoulders, and swinging their entire bodies with arms outstretched, now squatting, now rising and singing, "Ah! a guest has come!" and exclaiming joyfully, "Ala, la, la, ho, ala, la, la, ho!" In spite of the cold and wind, they were covered with perspiration, owing to their strenuous and violent movements; and they soon became hoarse from singing and screaming. From time to time, one or the other remained squatting for a little while to take a rest, and then again rejoined the dance (Plate IV, Fig. 1). When the sledge with the whale had reached the shore, the women went into the house, took off their dancing-costumes, and soon returned with pails and troughs for gathering the blood and the entrails, and with bunches of grass on which to spread the meat and skin before they should be divided. The men threw the whale from the sledge upon the ground. One of the women, among whom were the two wives and two sisters of the owner of the nets that had caught the whale, took alder-branches and a bunch of sacrificial grass, and, after having whispered an incantation, put them into the mouth of the white whale. There is no doubt that this was a sacrifice symbolizing a meal given to the whale; but the Koryak were unable to explain to me the meaning of the alder-branches. "Our forefathers used to do this way," they said. Then the women cleaned the body of the whale with grass, and covered its head with a hood plaited of grass, apparently with the idea that the whale should not see how it was going to be carved.

Before putting the branches into the whale's mouth, Kílu'-keña,[1] the older widowed sister of Qaivi'lok, known in the village as the woman most expert in pronouncing incantations, bent over the whale's head, and, assisted by her younger sister, pronounced the following incantation:[2] —

[539] "The Creator said, 'I shall go get a white whale for my children as food.' He went and got it. Then he said, 'I shall go for an alder-branch.' He went and brought a branch. He brought the branch for the whale. Later on he again procured the same white whale: again he brought a branch. Thus he always did, and thus he always hunted."

Then the men flensed the whale, and the women gathered the blood, and divided the meat, blubber, and skin into parts (Plate IV, Fig. 2). At the same time that the white whale was brought, other hunters from the settlement brought a ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) and a thong seal (*Erygnathus barbatus*); and these were included in the following festive ceremonies. They were also

[1] She is represented with a drum on Plate III.

[2] I learned the meaning of this incantation many months after, when I revisited the settlement in the spring. Unfortunately the text of this incantation remains undeciphered. I therefore give only the translation.

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FIG. 1. WELCOMING THE WHALE.

FIG. 2. FLENSING THE WHALE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 70]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

796 cut up in front of the village. The head of the white whale, as well as the heads of the two seals, were wrapped up in grass hoods, and put upon the roofs of the storehouses.

Next the inhabitants of the village made preparations for the festival. During the day a dog was slaughtered at the seashore as a sacrifice to the master of the sea. It looked as if the entire village had moved over to Qaivi'lok's house, the owner of the net in which the white whale was caught. The women spent all their time there, working. They plaited travelling-bags of grass for the white whale, made grass masks, prepared berries and roots, etc. By chance only one guest from a neighboring village was present at this festival, while it is customary for many visitors to come to participate in the whale festival. The communal character of this festival was also due to the fact that all the families belonging to the village set up their nets together, and that the flesh of the sea-animals was divided among them. Only the head and skin of the animals belonged to the man in whose nets they had been caught. But, although the white whale's skin was not divided, all participated when it was eaten in Qaivi'lok's house. Many of the men and women spent all the time during the celebration in eating in Qaivi'lok's house, and even slept there.

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In the evening of the same day, Oct. 11, the first reception in honor of the guests (the white whale and the seals) took place. When I entered Qaivi'lok's house, accompanied by my wife and Mr. Axelrod, it was full of people (Fig. 29). The skin-covered sleeping-tents and the bedding had been taken out of the house. All around the house, in the spaces between the posts and the walls, the women were busy cooking, cutting up blubber, grinding and mixing spawn and berries, and cutting edible grasses and roots. The men were sitting in a half-circle near the posts, while the youths were standing or sitting on the ground, near the hearth. The space to the left of the entrance, as far as the first middle post, was unoccupied. In this section, near the wall, was the shrine (op-yan) in which were placed the charms, attired in grass neckties, — the sacred fire-board, the master of the nets, the house-guardian (yaya'kamaklō), the spear consecrated to the spirit of the wolf, and a few other minor guardians. Among them was a wooden image of a white whale (Fig. 30, *a*), in front of

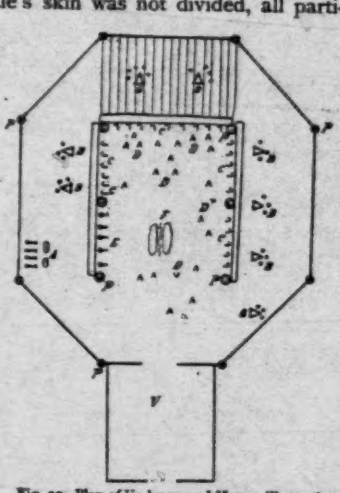

Fig. 29. Plan of Underground House, illustrating the First Part of the Whale Festival. *a*, The Shrine; *b*, Lamps and women cooking; *c*, Men sitting; *d*, Children; *e*, Place in which the writer and his companions were seated; *f*, Fireplace; *p*, Posts; *v*, Porch.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

796 which was a small cup filled with water (Fig. 30, *b*), which was changed every day during the festival; and on a grass bag were small boiled pieces of the nostrils, lips, flippers, and tail of the white whale. The little cup is called e'naxla-ko'iñin ("for a friend a cup"). A similar cup, used in the whale festival, is represented in Fig. 30, *c*. The sacrificial parts are called tayñinya'ñvo ("desired [pieces]"); that is, the choicest. It is interesting to note that the sacrifice to the spirit of the animal consists of parts of its own body, while, on the other hand, these parts represent the white whale itself.

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Fig. 30. *a* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{12}\frac{8}{7}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{12}\frac{8}{17}$), *c* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{12}\frac{8}{17}$). Wooden Image of a Whale, and Sacrificial Cups used at the Whale Festival. Length, 21 cm., 17 cm., 8.5 cm.

It was very quiet in the house. The people spoke in whispers, and the host pointed out a place for us in front of the shrine. We sat down on the log which separates the sleeping-place from the middle of the house. The interior of the house had a strange, mysterious, and at the same time a depressing look. There was no fire on the hearth; the coals were only smouldering. Eight stone lamps on wooden stands, the number corresponding to the number of families that participated in the festival, were burning with smoking flames all around the house, where the walls are slanting, and gave off a very unpleasant smell of seal-oil. Their light was lost in the darkness of the vast underground house, the largest in the village. The walls, black from soot, completely absorbed the light of the lamps, and it was very difficult to discern the figures of the women, who were busy cooking. The men and the children were sitting motionless in the middle of the house. All were silent, or spoke in whispers, for fear of awaking the guest before it was time.

At last the preparatory cooking was done, and all went outside, since, during the ceremonies of that evening, no one was allowed to leave the house. Soon all returned, and each family brought a bundle of fagots, and they built a large fire on the hearth, which lighted the house, and made it appear less gloomy than before. Amid the silence that was still reigning, the women placed near the fire kettles, brought from their homes, and melted in them the blubber of the white whale and seals. The women continued to whisper one to another. After the oil was tried out, they went back, each to her

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY 4 Koryak RY 4

lamp, and mixed the oil with the cut willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*). These were ground with spawn of the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*), various kinds of berries, — crow-berries (*Empetrum nigrum*), cranberries (*Vaccinium vitis idæa L.*), blea-berries (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), and cloud-berries (*Rubus chamæmorus*), — and roots of *Claytonia acutifolia*, *Hedisarum obscurum*, and *Polygonum viviparum*. A little water was added, and the whole was kneaded in troughs, for making puddings, which the white whale was to take along on its journey. These puddings are called čʼlqačil. When they were ready, the women representing the different families passed from one corner to the other, and exchanged presents, consisting of small pieces of pudding. After this exchange of presents, the host and other men brought in from the porch the heads of the white whale and the two seals, and hung them on a cross-beam at one side of the hearth.

The silence was suddenly interrupted. From all sides of the house were heard joyous exclamations of the women, who exchanged greetings with one another, — "Here dear guests have come!" "Visit us often;" "When you go back to sea, tell your friends to call on us also, we will prepare just as nice food for them as for you;" "We always have plenty of berries;" etc., — and they pointed with their fingers at the puddings that were placed on boards. The fire of the hearth was supposed to represent the sea, to which the whale returns. The charms which guard the whale's skin, as described above, are not used in the equipment for the home journey of the white whale.

Everybody in the house was carried away with excitement. The men and children talked aloud, and crowded around the hearth. Soon the hunters hung up over the hearth, to boil, the livers of the white whale and of the seals, and the skin of the whale. Then the host, a grass collar around his neck, took a piece of the fat of the white whale, and threw it into the fire, saying, "Caqhičnin" [Being, Something-existing], "we are burning it in the fire for thee!" Then he went to the shrine, placed pieces of fat before the guardians, and smeared their mouths with fat. Thereupon all those present in the house began to partake of the food. They ate dried fish (dipping it in white-whale or seal oil), boiled seal-meat and whale-meat, broiled skin of the white whale, and pudding. The naked bodies of the men (who had taken off their coats), the excited faces of the women, the children's faces smeared with oil, the smoke of the hearth, and the soot from the lamps, — all these together offered a strange sight. The concluding ceremony of the evening was divining with a shoulder-blade of a seal. This was done by two old men. One held the shoulder-blade, and the other one piled burning coals on it. All the men examined the cracks which formed in the shoulder-blade. First a crack appeared parallel to the longer side of the bone, which caused anxiety among those present. Such a crack indicates dry land and mountains. Since the object of the divination was to discover whether the white whale would go back to the sea and call others

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to visit the settlement, the augury desired was a line indicating the sea. To the delight of all the participants in the ceremony, there soon appeared another crack across the bone, and intersecting the first line. Such a line indicates the sea; that is, that the home journey of the whale will be happily accomplished (see Fig. 31).

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Fig. 31. Shoulder-Blade of a Seal, used for Divination. (From a sketch.)

The ceremony of the equipment for the home journey of the white whale took place on the fifth day, in the morning of the 15th of October. During the three days intervening, — from the 11th to the 15th, — the inhabitants did not do any work. They called on each other, and gave feasts; but most of their time was spent in the house in which the ceremonies were taking place. The old men ate fly-agaric, and, when the intoxication had passed, they told whither the "Fly-Agaric Men" (Wapa'qala'nu) had taken them, and what they had seen. The women and the young people sang and beat the drum.

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In the evening of the 14th there was another gathering in Qaivi'lok's house. This time only two lamps were burning in the house. The women finished plaiting the grass bags required for the ceremony, and the host beat the drum and sang. Then his sisters beat two drums, and sang in praise of the guests, — that is, of the white whale and the seals, — dancing at the same time in the same way as they had done on the shore when meeting the white whale. During this ceremony they were overcome with such a frenzy, that the deafening roar of their drums was completely drowned by their desperate shrieks, which alternated with guttural rattlings.

On Oct. 15 the frost was rather severe, the minimum temperature being —23° C. For more than a mile the shallow beach was covered with blocks of ice, so that the high tide no longer reached the village. Winter had set in, and all hunting of sea-animals ceased.

By ten o'clock in the morning I was called into Qaivi'lok's house. The low entrance-door leading from the porch, which is closed for the winter, was still open. So far the opening in the roof had served only to admit light from outside, and to let out the smoke from within, but not as an entrance. The hearth was turned into something like an altar. On it were lying the travelling-bags plaited of grass (*Elymus mollis*), and filled with puddings which had been frozen outside. The heads of the white whale and of the seals had been placed on the altar, and sacrificial sedge-grass was hung around them. It was a bright, sunny day; and the light passing through the smoke-hole illuminated well the centre of the house and the hearth, leaving the recesses nearer the walls in semi-darkness. The light in the middle of the house permitted me to take a photograph of the hearth without the use of the flash-light (Plate v, Fig. 1).

h. Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY/Koryak RY/

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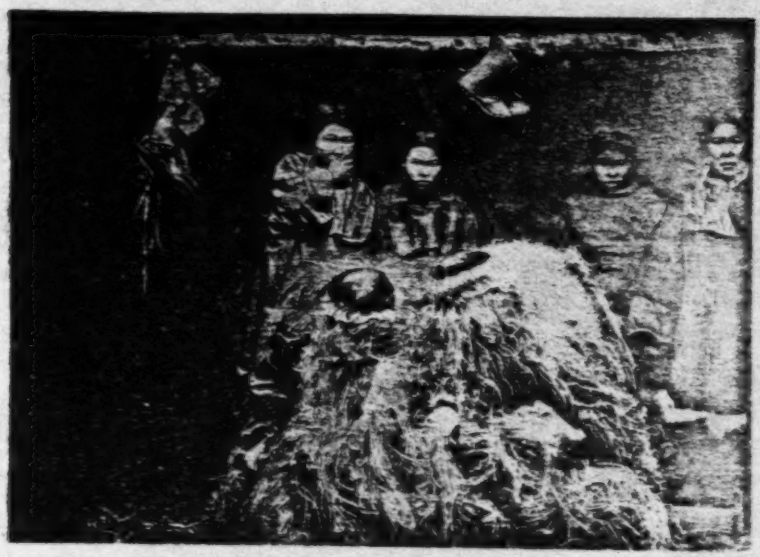

FIG. 1. CLOTHING THE WHALE FOR THE HOME JOURNEY.

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FIG. 2. MASK DANCE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 74]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Both sisters of the owner of the house — Navaqu't (the chief's wife), and Kilu'keña (who was known in the settlement for her skill in incantations) — put on grass masks (Fig. 32). They knelt down before the hearth, bent their heads over the altar so that their masks covered the bags, and pronounced an incantation. Not far from the hearth their brother was standing. He wore a grass collar, but no mask. Being a man with a "strong heart," he was not afraid to meet with face uncovered the spirit of the white whale, which is supposed to be present at the ceremony of the equipment for its home journey; but the women, not being sure of their presence of mind, wore masks.[1] Before the kneeling women, on a separate plate, was a small sacrificial pudding covered with sacrificial grass, for the spirit of the white whale. When the incantation was finished, the women arose and took off their masks; and their brother took the plate with the pudding, and examined it carefully, assisted by the old men. After a long search, they discovered some slight scratches in two places on its smooth surface, and felt perfectly satisfied, taking them for traces left by the spirit, who apparently had received the sacrifice with favor. This indicated that the white whale was going back to sea ot fulfil its mission. The unwillingness of the white whale to return to the sea would be a foreboding of hunger and other calamities. In Tale 20 it is related that Big-Raven's and Miti's fathers, unable to send home the whale, were so frightened on account of the consequences of such an event, that they ran away, no one knows where, deserting their houses, and leaving their small children uncared for.

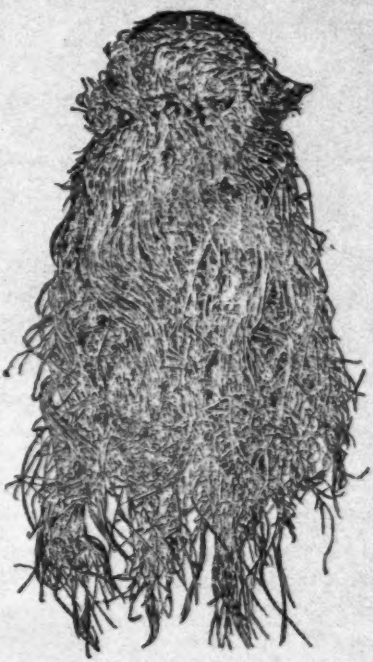

Fig. 32 ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{17}}$). Grass Mask.

[1] It is an interesting fact that the custom among the Yukaghir of wearing leather masks when dissecting the corpses of their dead shamans was explained to me in the same manner. People do not dare to look with uncovered faces at the body of the shaman. We find the same idea among the Aleutians. They believed, that, while the mystic rites of the annual festival in December were going on, a spirit or power descended into the figure which was prepared for the festival. To look at or see him was death or misfortune; hence the Aleutians wore large masks carved from driftwood, with holes cut so that nothing before them or above them could be seen, but only the ground near their feet. A further illustration of the same idea was shown in their practice of putting a similar mask over the face of a dead person when the body was laid in some rock-shelter. The departed one was supposed to be gone on his journey to the land of spirits; and for his protection against their glances he was supplied with a mask (Dall, p. 137).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

●796 After the favorable reception of the sacrifices by the white whale, the people proceeded to send it home. Two men went out, ascended the roof, and let down into the house long thongs, to which the travelling-bags (Fig. 33) and the heads of the white whale and the seals were tied. Before pulling them up, a preliminary test of lifting them had been made, and it turned out that they were very light. This was the last divination before the final equipment for the home journey of the white whale and the seals. For three

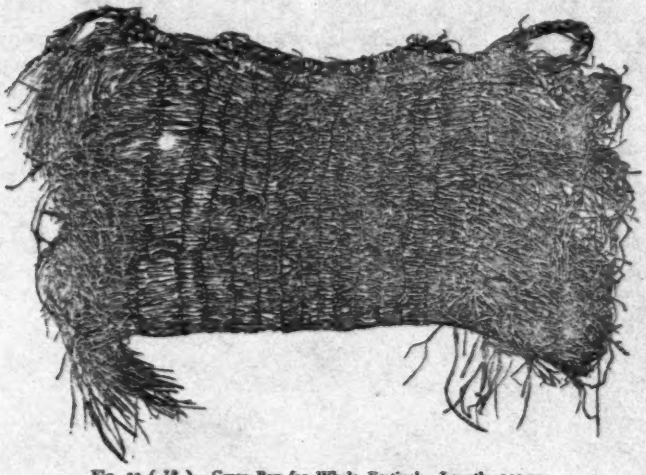

Fig. 33 ($\frac{12}{1170}$). Grass Bag for Whale Festival. Length, 120 cm.

days the bags of provisions remained on the roof. Then the puddings were eaten, and the grass bags and masks hung up in the small storehouse. I acquired the latter subsequently for my collection (see Figs. 32, 33). Toward spring they are usually carried away into the wilderness, where they are left on the ground, or hung from the branches of a tree. It is forbidden to burn them.

784 171 The following facts are of interest in connection with the festival for "equipping the whale for its home journey." The tendency of "having nothing in common" with the hearth of somebody else is not as strong among the Koryak as among the Chukchee. The family hearth of the Chukchee is sacred, and the fire of one family must not be brought in contact with the fire of another family. The kettle or teapot of one house must not be brought near the fire of another family, not even into another house. It would desecrate and infect the family hearth. Among the Koryak the taboo of "non-communion" with a stranger's hearth is observed in a lesser number of cases. For instance, among the Maritime Koryak the taboo of carrying fire from

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Z44 Koryak Z44

one house to another is observed only in summer, since otherwise success in sealing may be brought to an end. But during the whale festival, families that are not interrelated bring into the house where the celebration takes place wood, dishes, food, and sacrificial grass. They build a fire jointly, and cook together. On the other hand, before the celebration takes place, all the bedding and the skin covers of the sleeping-rooms are taken out of the house. Temporarily the house is thus transformed into a ceremonial house.

In connection with this it may be mentioned, that, during the Koryak fair on the Palpal Mountains, which I visited, the Reindeer Koryak built a common oblong reindeer-skin tent. Each family covered a part of the tent with their own reindeer-skins. The house formed a long passage, on both sides of which the sleeping-rooms of the separate families were put up. In two places, near the foci of the oval, two hearths were built for general use. The Chukchee families that were present at the fair each put up a separate tent.

Not all the Maritime Koryak have transferred the ceremonies connected with the whale festival to white-whale hunting, as it is done in the villages of Paren, Kuel, and Itkana. The Koryak of Kamenskoye and Talovka told me that they celebrate the equipment of the white whale for the home journey without any particular ceremonies, right on the seashore, the customs being the same as those in practice after the capture of seals. They cut off the head of the captured white whale or seal, put berries in its mouth to feed it, hang sacrificial grass around it, and, turning its face seaward, pat it, and say, —

"I'nnaa a'tĕi vo'ten aya'yan. r'mıñ qaitumgıya'nvo hewñava'ta: mıḷḷalai'
"Soon to-day with (this) tide (come). All relatives induce: come
kinemık."
on."

That is, "When the next high tide comes, induce all your relatives to come with you to visit us."

Then they add, "Go around the flippers of those who do not wish to come."[1] Thereupon they turn the face toward the village, and exclaim, "Uph, (he) has come!" (Gık, y'etti!)

The Koryak think that this incantation has the effect of bringing sea-animals with the following tide. Before sending off the head, they cut off a piece of the white whale's or the seal's liver; and the Koryak maintain that the liver of the next animal caught will lack a piece at the same place.

The Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, a number of whom carry on sea-hunting on a small scale during the summer, after having procured a white whale, offer a sacrifice of a reindeer or a dog to the master of the sea (añqa'ken-etı'nvıla"n). They cut off a piece of fat from the white whale or seal, and, throwing it into the fire, they say, "Come back later on."

[1] The Koryak words represented by this last sentence could not be literally translated.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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The Putting-away of the Skin Boat for the Winter. — Soon after the whale festival, the Maritime Koryak celebrate the festival of putting away the skin boat. This is called Mena'tva'ñtara, which literally means, "Let us pull ashore the skin boat." While the whale festival is celebrated by the entire village, this is a family festival. Every family puts away for the winter its own skin boat. Guests are not invited for that event, and no special food is prepared. This festival is celebrated at the first new moon following the close of the hunting-season. First of all, the covering of seal-skins is taken off the wooden frame of the boat, on the beach. Then the fire in the house is put out. The ashes and all refuse on the hearth are picked up, carried out, and thrown at the foot of one of the guardians of the habitation standing in the settlement, preferably near the one belonging to the family which puts away its boat. It is supposed that by putting out the old fire, and removing the ashes and refuse, all hostile spirits are also removed from the house. Then a new fire is started outside, near the boat, by means of a drill and the sacred fire-board. After a flame has been obtained, a fire is built of alder-branches; and pieces of seal and white-whale fat are thrown into it as a sacrificial offering. During the ceremony the mouth of the sacred fire-board is smeared with fat, its eyes are cleaned with a knife, and they say to it, "Behold! the sea now frozen!" (Qthite'hin a'ñqan geqi'talin!)

When the fire outside has gone out, the frame of the boat is put away on the snow behind the houses. Then the people enter the house and start a new fire inside. In olden times the fire was brought from outside; but at present it is started with a strike-a-light or a match. In those settlements that are nearer to Kamchatka, and which have become more or less Russianized, the drilling of fire on the sacred fire-board is observed as a mere matter of form. The people merely insert the drill with the bow into the little hole of the sacred fire-board; but the fire is really started with a match.

After the new fire has been built on the hearth, the outer entrance-door of the porch is boarded up, covered with earth and snow, and a ladder is put into the smoke-hole. During the summer this ladder is kept on the roof. Its top, which has a carved face, and its foot, are smeared with fat, and charmed by means of an incantation, in order that the ladder may not admit any kalau into the house. The placing of the ladder and the closing of the porch-door take place in those settlements that are inhabited all the year round, as, for instance, in the village of Kuel. In settlements that serve only as winter residences, like Paren, the ladder is not taken out for the summer, and the outer door is never opened.

After the dwelling has been arranged for the winter, a ceremony is performed symbolizing the departure of the boat on a journey out to sea. Forked alder-branches are put on the frame of the boat at the places where the oarsmen sit, and also on the stern, while a bundle of sacrificial grass is hung

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

on the prow. Shaking the grass, the people say, "Well, start off!" Then they enter the house, dress up the sacred fire-board in a toy coat, put around its neck a thong with a harpoon, give it a knife, and carry it outside. The owner of the house says to it, "Now, go to the boat!" (Toq! ʌ"tve'ti qatai'!) Then somebody in the house coughs, as though replying to some one, and says, "Aha! father has returned." The sacred fire-board is then taken back into the house and put away to rest until the following spring. I was unable to find out the significance of this symbolic departure of the boat-frame and sacred fire-board, and the return of the latter into the house. It may be surmised that the spirit of the boat and of the sacred fire-board depart for the sea to stay there for the winter.

In the village of Kuel, the ceremonies of sending the boat out to sea, and the starting of a new fire, take place independently of each other. The boat is sent to sea immediately after the close of the hunting-season. From the time when the skins are taken off from the boat until the moment when the frame with the sacrificial grass, and the alder-branches as its oarsmen, is placed on the snow, no fire is allowed to burn in the house. The frame of the boat remains on the snow throughout the winter (see Plate VII, Fig. 1).

In Kuel a new fire is procured from the sacred fire-board after the first new moon of winter. The old fire on the hearth is again put out, and then the new fire is started in the house. Three men without coats, half naked, participate in this performance. One holds the sacred fire-board; another, the upper support of the drill; while the third one works with the drill-bow (Plate VI).

The Launching of the Skin Boat. — The spring festival of launching the boat is called "Mena"ttneyevune," which means literally, "Let us launch the boat," and is also a family festival. The seal-skin cover of the boat is soaked in water and put on the boat-frame, which is placed bottom up. The edges of the cover are turned inside, and tied with straps to the frame. Then a sacrificial fire is obtained from the sacred fire-board, and is kept burning under the upturned boat. Pieces of seal-fat are thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the boat, and the mouth of the sacred fire-board is smeared with fat. Then its eyes are cleaned with a knife, and they say to it, "Well, your eyes have become clear, the sea is open, look out." (Ga, ļeļa't ečtha'tbe, a'ñqan gava'ñtalin, qthite'hin!) The fire under the boat is allowed to die out, and the upturned boat is left to dry. Then it is launched.

The Wearing of Masks. — Heretofore it was not known that the Koryak wore masks in connection with their religious ceremonies. Not one of the former travellers makes mention of them.[1] I referred above to the use of

[1] There are no indications, either in Krasheninnikoff's or in Steller's descriptions of the Kamchadal, that they wore any wooden or grass masks, although Krasheninnikoff does mention that during the fall festival of "purification from sins" those participating in it used to adorn themselves with sacrificial grass, out of which they made wreaths, necklaces, and belts.

RV4 Koryak. RV4

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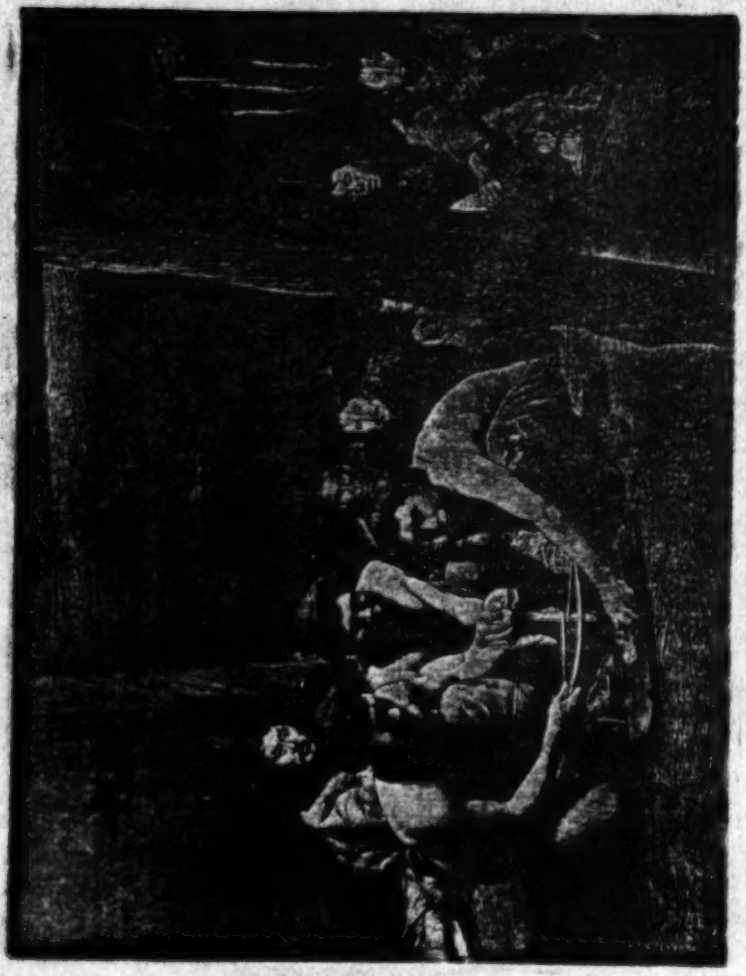

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 79]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry Koryak Ry4

finished. All of them have openings for the eyes and mouth. The eyes are narrower than on the Koryak masks; and on two of them the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat raised. The face is less oval in form, and the nose is shorter: generally the forms of the Eskimo masks approach more closely the type which is called "Mongolian" than those of the Koryak. Fig. 37, *c*, represents the inner side of one of these masks, and shows that they are just as little hollowed out as those of Koryak make.

While in the village of Paren the wearing of masks is practised only during the first winter month after the new moon, in the settlements of northern Kamchatka and in those of Baron Korff Bay the young people, according to Mr. Bogoras, amuse themselves with masks during the entire winter.

Fig. 38 ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{4}$). Leather Mask from Tilkhai River.

New masks are made every fall; and the old ones, which are no longer needed, are thrown away in a lonely place away from the village.[1]

I did not see grass or wooden masks among the Reindeer Koryak.[2] I only found a leather mask (Fig. 38) among the Reindeer Koryak on the Tilkhai River; but they said that it was not used in any ceremony. It represents a cannibal kala. Women put on such masks in order to scare the children.

Festivals of the Reindeer Koryak. — Since the time I spent with the Reindeer Koryak did not coincide with the season of their festivities, I had to be contented with such verbal information as I was able to get from the Koryak. The main festivals of the Reindeer Koryak are the following.

Ceremony on the Return of the Herd from Summer Pastures. — The majority of the Reindeer Koryak send their herds, with their sons or herdsmen, to the mountains; and they themselves remain near some river to fish or to go to sea. When the first snow covers the ground, the herdsmen with the herd return to the summer dwelling. As soon as the approach of the herd is noticed, the fire in the house is put out, and a new fire is made outside the house with the sacred fire-board, and a pile of wood is ignited with the new fire. Burning brands are then laid

[1] It is worth while to note here, that, after the religious ceremonies which used to take place in December, the Aleutians broke and threw into the sea the charms which they had used during the ceremonies, and the masks worn by their men and women; and that every year they made new charms and new masks (Dall, p. 139)

[2] With the exception of the Alaiora Reindeer Koryak (see p. 81).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

upon boards, and thrown upon the approaching herd. According to explanations given by some of the Koryak, the herd is met with fire in the same manner as relatives and guests are welcomed; while, according to others, the fire signifies the source whence reindeer originated. According to the second version, The-One-on-High took the first reindeer out of the fire. After the fire has been taken out of the house, sacrificial reindeer are slaughtered as an offering to The-One-on-High, and the face of the guardian on the sacred fire-board is smeared with blood, that he may protect the herd from wolves during the winter. Well-grown fawns are selected for this purpose, their skins being used for winter garments.

The Fawn Festival. — In spring, about the month of April, when the fawning-period is over and the reindeer have lost their antlers, the fawn festival is celebrated. It is called ki'lvei. The fire in the house is put out, and a new one is started by means of the sacred fire-board. Then reindeer are slaughtered as a sacrifice to The-One-on-High. In the Palpal Mountains, both the Koryak and the Chukchee pile up the antlers of the killed reindeer. The other Reindeer Koryak do not observe this custom. It seems probable that at an early period this custom was common to all Reindeer Koryak, though the Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula deny ever having had it. However, the former existence of a custom is often disavowed as soon as it has ceased to be in vogue. The owner of the herd beats the drum in order to entertain the fawns. The does, so the official chief of the Taigonos Koryak told me, say, on hearing the drum, "Our master is amusing our fawns."

These two festivals — the end of the fawning period, and the return of the herd in the fall — are the most important ones of the year. On such occasions, toothsome dishes are prepared, and guests from the neighboring camps are entertained; but they are strictly family festivals, nevertheless.

Other Festivals. — The offering of sacrifices constitutes the main feature of all other festivals. These are observed (1) when the sun marks the approach of summer after the winter solstice — a sacrifice is then offered to the sun; (2) in the month of March, when the does commence to fawn — a sacrifice is offered to The-One-on-High; (3) in spring, when the grass begins to sprout and the leaves appear on the trees — a sacrifice is offered to the earth or to the master of the earth; (4) when mosquitoes put in their appearance — reindeer are then slain as an offering to The-One-on-High, lest the mosquitoes scatter the herd.

Races. — Reindeer races must also be classed among the festivals of the Reindeer Koryak, for they are not a mere sport: they are of a religious character, like the Greek games. Races are festivals in honor of The-One-on-High. Dog-races and foot-races, on the other hand, are not regarded as religious festivals. Every owner of a large herd arranges races once a year. They usually take place toward the close of winter. The owner of the camp invites his guests from all the neighboring camps. Before the beginning of

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry 4 Koryak Ry 4

796 526 the races, a sacrifice is made to The-One-on-High. Then the race begins; and the winner receives some tobacco, a knife, or some other imported article, as a prize. It happens sometimes that the host sacrifices the racing-reindeer which he has been riding. Before stabbing it, he takes it around the house. In olden times he wore a suit of armor on such occasions. I heard that even now rich people of the Palpal Mountains put on armor[1] when slaughtering sacrificial reindeer during the race festival.

796 *Festival of "Going around with the Drum."* — The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula told me of a festival which they celebrate yearly after the winter solstice, and which is called Ya'yai-kamle'lehtyñin ("[with] drum around going"). Rich men invite all their neighbors to this festival, offer a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, and slaughter many reindeer for their guests. If there is a shaman present, he goes all around the interior of the house, beating the drum, and driving away the kalau. He searches all the people who are present in the house, and, if he finds a kala's arrow (which is invisible to ordinary men) in the body of one of them, he pretends to pull it out. In this manner he protects them against disease and death. In the absence of a shaman, this act is performed by the host, or by a woman versed in incantations.

Ceremonials Common to both Maritime and Reindeer Koryak. — The ceremonies performed after hunting wild reindeer or other land-animals are the same among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak. They are particularly elaborate after successful bear or wolf hunting. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to witness them personally; and the following descriptions are based on verbal information obtained from various persons.

The Bear Festival. — The bear is equipped for the home journey, like the whale; and the home-sending is called Ke'vñınačixtathi'yñın ("Bear-service"). When the dead bear is brought to the house, the women come out to meet it, dancing, with fire-brands. The bear-skin is taken off with the head; and one of the women puts on the skin, dances in it, and entreats the bear not to be angry, but to be kind to them. At the same time some meat is put on a wooden platter, and they say, "Eat, friend!"

[532]

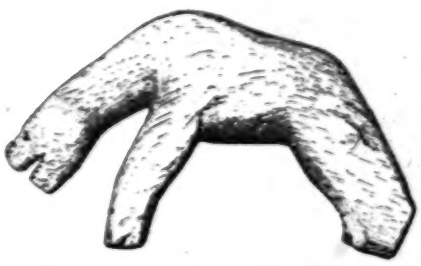

Fig. 39 (1/11). Wooden Figure representing Bear. Length, 35 cm.

Fig. 39 shows a wooden figure representing the bear during the festival. It is fed in the same manner as the wooden whale during the whale festival.

[1] Suits of armor are preserved by many of the wealthy Reindeer people as heirlooms in remembrance of the ancient war times.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

On the day when the bear is equipped for the home journey, the Maritime Koryak prepare puddings for it, travelling-provisions, just as has been described in connection with the whale festival. They plait a grass bag, and put the puddings into it. The Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer for the bear, cook all the meat, and pack it in a grass bag. The bear-skin is filled with grass, taken out and carried around the house, following the course of the sun, and then sent away in the direction of the rising sun. The fact that the bear is sent toward morning dawn indicates that the Koryak consider the spirit of the bear as benevolent. The stuffed bear and the bag are put on the platform of the storehouse; and after a few days the skin is taken back to be tanned, and the puddings are eaten.

The Wolf Festival. — After having killed a wolf, the Maritime Koryak take off its skin, together with the head, just as they proceed with the bear; then they place near the hearth a pointed stick, and tie an arrow, called i"lhun or e"lgoi, to it, or drive the arrow into the ground at its butt-end.[1] One of the men puts on the wolf's skin and walks around the hearth, while another member of the family beats the drum. The wolf festival is called e"lhō'gičām; that is, "wolf-stick festival."

The meaning of this ceremony is obscure. I have been unable to get any explanation from the Koryak with reference to it. "Our forefathers did this way," is all they say. I have found no direct indications of the existence of totemism among the Koryak; but the wearing of the skin of the wolf and of the bear during these festivals may be compared to certain features of totemistic festivals, in which some members of the family or clan represent the totem by putting on its skin.

The wolf festival differs from the bear festival in the absence of the equipment for the home journey. The reason is this, that the bear is sent home with much ceremony, to secure successful bear-hunting in the future, bear's meat being considered a delicacy, while the festival serves at the same time to protect the people from the wrath of the slain animal and its relatives. The wolf, on the other hand, does not serve as food, but is only a danger to the traveller in the desert. He is dangerous, not in his visible, animal state, — for the northern wolves, as a rule, are afraid of men, — but in his invisible, anthropomorphic form. According to the Koryak conception, the wolf is a rich reindeer-owner and the powerful master of the tundra. A traveller who has lost his way may stray into a settlement of wolves, and become their prey. The wolves avenge themselves particularly on those that hunt them.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have still more reason to fear wolves, since their herds are always exposed to their dangerous attacks. According to the conception of the Reindeer Koryak, the wolf is a powerful shaman, and he is regarded as an evil spirit hostile to the reindeer, and roaming all over the earth. In

[1] See p. 43. [2] Tale 84.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

796 tales he is not called by his usual name, E^{v}gɪ̨ăm, but Umya'ɪlhm ("broad-soled
825 one") or Ña'ĭnmosa'n ("one who keeps himself outside").

After having killed a wolf, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer, cut off its head, and put its body, with that of the killed wolf, on a platform raised on posts. The reindeer-head is placed so as to face eastward. It is a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, who is thus asked not to permit the wolf to attack the herd. Special food is prepared in the evening, and the wolf is fed. The night is spent without sleep, in beating the drum and dancing to entertain the wolf, lest his relatives come and take revenge. Beating the drum, and addressing themselves to the wolf, the people say, "Be well!" (Nɪme'leu gatva'ñvota!) and addressing The-One-on-High, they say, "Be good, do not make the wolf bad!"

Practices in Connection with Fox-Hunting. — When a captured fox is brought into the house, it is soothed like a child. While pulling off its skin, and cutting the joints of the legs, they say in a pitiful tone, "Eh, what a lean one!" to which some one replies for the fox, "I will soon send you a gray fox." A grass mat is put around the body like a coat. The male fox is given a little wooden knife, and the female a thimble and needle-case; then it is placed on the platform of the storehouse.

Sacrifices.

782 The sacrifices offered by the Koryak to the supreme and other supernatural beings may be divided into two classes, — bloody and bloodless ones. It is remarkable, that, among the tribes of the northwestern part of North America, we find only bloodless offerings to the deities, consisting of food, ornaments, and other trifling gifts.[1] These sacrifices, however, play a secondary part. Among the Eskimo, the most effective means of guarding against misfortune consists in the observance of various taboos; and a frank confession by the person who transgressed a taboo[2] serves as the best propitiatory measure. Among the Indians, purification, prayers, and incantations are the most effective means of gaining the good-will of the supernatural powers. Of course we find all these among the Koryak also; but sacrifices play the most conspicuous part in their religious life. It seems justifiable to assume that bloody sacrifices are connected with the pastoral life of the Reindeer tribes, just as we find the same custom among the cattle-raising tribes of Siberia generally, and among the Reindeer peoples in the north of Siberia, as the Samoyed and Ostyak. It is probably not a mere accident that in the myths recorded by me, mostly offerings of reindeer are mentioned;[3] but at present

[1] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, pp. 129, 146; Teit, pp. 344, 345; Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 29.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 147.

[3] A dog-sacrifice is mentioned in but one tale, No. 92. It should be noted that the tales do not mention at all sacrifices to evil spirits (kalau).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

tales do we find any trace of the representative principle before the advent of the Russians. The principle of seniority dominated in the settlement as well as in the family. By seniority we must not understand greater age alone, but also greater physical strength. Aged weaklings were not considered. As long as no stronger man appeared, the founder of the settlement was the elder. The sacred post[1] erected by him was regarded as the guardian of the entire settlement. The strong man always had several wives and many children, and after his death his family continued to dominate in the settlement. In the reports of the Cossacks who fought the Koryak, mention is made of the elders of settlements. There the Yakut name Toyon is given them, which name in Yakut also means the representative of a clan or gens. The Koryak called them E'yem, which means "the strong one." What the power of these leaders was cannot be gathered from these reports; but they relate that the settlements would at times combine into defensive and offensive unions, as was the case during the uprisings of the Koryak against the Russian conquerors. What part was played in the formation of these unions by the E'yems, what part by the mass of the Koryak, we do not know. During battles the extreme authority was vested in the "strong men" and the good warriors, but leadership in war was not always accorded to the elder in times of peace.

The family shamans and the professional shamans, who regulated the family cult and the general religious life of the people, enjoyed a position of a certain prominence in social affairs. Often the "elders" and "braves" themselves possessed shamanistic powers, or they kept shaman helpers, whose magic assisted them in their combats with enemies.

The fortification of a settlement[2] was the concern of all its inhabitants. I have spoken before of the guardians of settlements and of the communal character of the whale festival.[3] It is very probable that in ancient times special houses were set apart in the villages for gatherings and feasts. In describing the whale festival[4] I pointed out that the celebrations took place in the largest house of the village, that the fire of the hearth was kept alive by wood supplied by each and every one of the participating families, the beds and sleeping-tents having previously been carried out of doors. Thus the dwelling was temporarily transformed into a public house, the family hearth became a communal hearth, and all the inhabitants of the settlement cooked their meals at its fire. I saw another public house at the fair in the Palpal. This house was a large skin tent built by all the Reindeer Koryak who had come to the fair.[5] In one myth[6] we are told that in the centre of the kalau settlement a large house was situated, where the kalau were gathered for a council.

We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving

[1] See Part I, Fig. 4, p. 37. [2] See p. 563. [3] See Part I, p. 67.
[4] Ibid., p. 71. [5] See p. 451; also Plate XIX, Fig. 2. [6] See Part I, p. 314, No. 114.

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Preparations for burning a corpse.

pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been guessed, and it was given to the newborn.

The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring kil'vey—the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwellings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring, at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November) the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the "whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the animals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.

The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was An'an' or Etyny. However, when man was being created, the harmful being, Nen'vetgyyn'yn, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfortunes among men.

The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th century, many Alyutortsy strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which, of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.

The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the Chukchi and Itel'mens, and similar to the Eskimos'. The principal character of these myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, Kuykynnyaku or Kutkynnyaku) which, according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding, fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the Etyny. But most

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters. 773

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnyaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'"). 173 [184] [648]

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish. 773

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few. 538

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator. 534

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women. 535 [533]

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins. 296 526

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares, 32 531 532 462 294 531 [462]